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Le but de ce rapport est d'étudier la possibilité de créer un orthographe normalisé unique pour les Inuit du Canada et d'examiner l'hypothèse d'adapter à cette fin l'orthographe des Inuit du Groenland. En dépit de différences phonétiques et grammaticales, cette langue a une structure linguistique commune avec celle de la langue des Inuit du Canada. L'étude a été menée à partir du dialecte de Port Harrison, qui est d'un niveau plus avancé que les autres par rapport à l'évolution phonétique du Groenland. L'objectif n'est pas d'éliminer le système d'écriture syllabique mais de rechercher l'unité par un système d'orthographe latin groenlandais.

La première partie du document rappelle les principes en cause: définition de l'orthographe, principes linguistiques sur lesquels repose l'orthographe proposé, orthographe latin plutôt que système syllabique. La deuxième partie oppose dialectes et standardisation: la nécessité d'un moyen de communication écrite autochtone et supra-dialectique, les sources historiques de la normalisation linguistique. La troisième partie présente l'alphabet proposé.

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A DRAFT ORTHOGRAPHY FOR THE CANADIAN ESKIMO TOWARDS A FUTURE UNIFICATION WITH GREENLANDIC

G. R. LEFEBVRE

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A DRAFT ORTHOGRAPHY FOR THE CANADIAN ESKIMO

TOWARDS A FUTURE UNIFICATION WITH GREENLANDIC

by

G. R. Lefebvre

This report is prepared by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, as a contribution to the knowledge of the north. The opinions expressed, however, are those of the author.

GGH

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to V. F. Valentine, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre,
Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources,
Ottawa.

1957.

"Once primitive man has met the so-called
'civilized world', there is no way back".

Knud Rasmussen.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present paper is to discuss the possibilities in the field of a unified standard orthography for the Canadian Eskimo language, on the one hand; on the other hand, the delicate question of this unification along the lines of the Greenlandic (Kleinschmidt) system has been examined, according to the terms of the contract between the Government and ourselves, working as a linguist. We can safely assert that the evidence we have, in the field of Greenlandic, is sufficient to allow a Canadian-Greenlandic standardization, on the basis of a common linguistic pattern, in spite of phonetic and grammatical differences owing to separate evolution. In order to reach an agreement about a standard spelling system, it is far more important to stress the compatibility and similarities of the inter-dialectical sound-systems than the lexical and grammatical resemblances. Therefore, we have not waited till a thorough investigation of all the dialects is finished to propose the present system. This will be the task in the years to come, before the literary unification of the Eskimo dialects can be achieved. Under the circumstances, one could not undertake such a tremendous work; we have, however, attempted to tackle both the theoretical and concrete sources of information concerning the systems of sounds of as many dialects as possible. Finally, in order to build a system as close as possible to the Greenlandic orthography, we have chosen as a basis the Port Harrison dialect, which occupies a more advanced position, in comparison with the Greenlandic phonetic evolution, than the Western group. In other words, the Port Harrison dialect has been used as a link between Greenland and Canada, and the other dialects have proven to be compatible with it, provided the necessary adaptations are made. Keeping in mind that one has to sacrifice local differences to a certain extent, we are hereby asking every person concerned with the Canadian Eskimo welfare and cultural unity to put the proposed orthography to trial in his or her own sphere of action. The first step, the very first attempt, will be difficult; but we strongly hope that the Eskimo response will be favourable towards this cultural initiative on the part of the Department of Northern Affairs. Our first aim is not to eliminate the syllabic system of writing as such, but rather to seek and achieve unity along the lines of a Latin and Greenlandic system. Except for a few changes rendered necessary by scientific requirements, the following chapters will introduce an orthography which is quite similar to the one used for years by the most successful group of the Eskimo family: the Greenlanders. Before introducing the orthography as such, we shall discuss the principles on which rest our conclusions, we shall espound the sources of the new Standard alphabet.

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

What is a spelling system? How is it drawn up? Its linguistic Bases

It is a well-known fact, in the history of mankind, that the development of intellectual culture is embodied in the literatures, and the literatures are conditioned only by the perfection and unity of writing means, for instance, the Indian civilization has been expressed by the Sanscrit Devanagari system of writing, the Muslim civilization is closely tied to the Arabic orthography; the Greek and Roman cultures have been propagated through their respective written mediums. Gleason, the American scientific linguist, writes (An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, p. 322): "A common written language...is a POWERFUL UNIFYING FORCE in a national or cultural area. It is also a necessity if a flourishing literature is to be developed, since it is not economically feasible to develop a separate written literature for every minor local dialect. In many parts of the world today, adequate written languages are badly needed in order that the peoples concerned may take their rightful places in the modern world. No nation can afford the long, slow process of development by which the written languages of Europe mostly came into their present situations. It is desirable to short-cut this slow growth by some quicker way to an adequate written language usable by a sufficiently large population to support a vigorous literature".

(1) Definition of an Orthography:

An orthography or a spelling system is a medium through which the units of a spoken language are symbolized or represented. Though they do not necessarily coincide, the written and the spoken levels of a given language must have a certain relation to each other, that is to say, a system of spelling or a "script" is primarily designed to embody in a permanent form the sounds, the grammar, and the thought-world of a given linguistic entity. Ultimately, a system of writing is a bond between all those who speak the same language, a means of communicating through permanent symbols one's thoughts, feelings and needs. Furthermore it is, in many instances, the only way of disclosing the thought-world of extinct civilizations. Without written documents, how could we know about the ancient Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Anglo-Saxon worlds? -- Because language is a reflection of civilization, a system of writing will consequently be a vehicle of culture, which embodies the essence of a language. Therefore, the perfection of an orthography has a direct bearing on the spiritual life of a people.

(2) Linguistic principles on which we have based our Orthography:

(a) The "phonemic" principle: it is the reduction of the mass of sounds uttered in a given dialect to the only basic, significant sounds, necessary to distinguish a word from another in the same context. Those are named "phonemes". Cf. English "bill", as opposed to "pill". One says that "the voiced, bilabial stop" /b-/, and the "voiceless, bilabial stop" /p-/ are two phonemes, since they distinguish two "words" or "semantic units" in the same context, and they cannot be interchanged without modifying meanings. This opposition may take place in the initial, medial, and final positions (i.e. at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a "word"). Cf. in Eastern Hudson Bay dialects, "ulluq": "day", as opposed to "uluk" : "woman's knife". Here, the "lateral fricative" (i.e. /ll/, written by some people: "bl", "gl", "dl", etc.) and the "lateral non-fricative" (i.e. the ordinary /l/ are two distinct "phonemes" or sounds which MUST be distinguished in the medial position, namely between two vowels, in the middle of a word. We have reached this conclusion, because we have seen the phenomenon in a series of words. The same for /k/ and /q/ (i.e. the "guttural K"); cf /qimmiq/ "dog", as opposed to /kimmik/ "heel". For each dialect there is a SYSTEM of significant sounds, for not every sound uttered is significant, as we shall see in a moment. Following the authors on Eskimology (for instance, William Thalbitzer, Bourquin, Rasmussen, etc.) and the opinion of many other linquists (for instance, Bergsland, Swadesh, Hill), we already had an idea about the fundamental unity of the Eskimo language; consequently, the variety of dialects north of Yukon should have similar "phonemic systems", i.e. about the same sound-systems. Accordingly, a broad phonemic survey has revealed a great similarity. We shall not over-estimate the situation in asserting that the basic sounds, in Canadian Eskimo, and, in a great measure, in Greenlandic, are the same. In other words, the "phonemic system", in one dialect, can be compared to the phonemic system of another dialect. We have taken advantage of this state of affairs in order to draw up an orthography which would be as CONCISE as possible in the number of symbols, as ACCURATE as possible with regard to the significant sounds, as COMPREHENSIVE as possible with regard to the dialectal differences. This dialectal problem with its corollaries will be discussed later.

An alphabet is based on those sounds called "phonemes", rather than the variations of the phonemes in a particular context, which are non-significant features of pronunciation. Those variations are called "allophones".

If an alphabet were based on allophones only, one would have a tremendous number of symbols or letters in a standard orthography, in order to describe, represent the pronunciation of all the dialects. For instance, one knows that the /q/ phoneme (i.e. "rk", "kr", "rkr", "-r") is "plosive" (i.e. exploded) in the Center or the West when it begins a word; the same in medial position, between vowels and when not doubled. In our Canadian Eastern dialects, it is more often "fricative" (or "aspirated"). At the end of a word, it often disappears in the East and the Center. In Western Hudson Bay, it is often heard as an /-r/. Shall we have different letters to describe all those varieties of a single significant sound, or simply write /q/, understanding that the Eskimos will make the necessary adaptations according to local conditions and the place in the word. The English and the French languages are full of those non-significant variations which are not even written, either for the sake of unity (cf. Continental and Canadian French), or simply because the native speakers, thinking in functional terms, do not even hear them. For instance, who would think of adding an "e" between "l" and "m" in the pronunciation of the word "film", in a certain type of Canadian English ("filem")? Let us think of the different pronunciations, throughout the world, of the same words, which fortunately have the same orthography in English. Now, if the standard group of dialects has a definite "phoneme" which differs slightly or much in pronunciation from that of other dialects, one recommends to use the same spelling everywhere, understanding that each dialect will have to make the necessary adaptation. For instance, the phoneme /ll/, which is represented "shl", "bl", "gl", "dl", "tdl", elsewhere. Dialectal or "diaphonic" varieties will have to be overlooked, in order to reach unity. Cf. we consider that "s" will be understood as "h" in certain Western dialects.

(b) A common phonetic evolution in the group of Eskimo dialects north of the Yukon River. Though manifesting itself at different rates according to regions, this dynamism exists everywhere, since language is a living organism. Different consonant-clusters (/kp/, /lr/, /nmg/, etc.) appear to exist in a greater quantity in the Central and the Western regions. Shall we use the symbols of the unified standard spelling to write those clusters? Yes, even if the Central and the Western dialects were not to evolve; but, where would be the advantage of a single system of spelling without a certain uniformity in the shape of the words and in the vocabulary, without excepting the grammar? Our hope of adapting all the Canadian Eskimo to a standard orthography lies in a well-known fact in eskimology: the phenomenon of assimilation

(of consonant-clusters) in our Northern group of Eskimo. Supposing that there are in a syllable two different consonants side by side, the tendency in the system is to assimilate one consonant to the other, in other words, to create geminated consonants. We consider as a standard the Eastern Hudson Bay dialect (with Port Harrison as a type) where the evolution towards assimilation has taken place as a regular feature since the past 50 years. What we know of Labrador shows a more complete, maybe too advanced, assimilation of clusters, namely groups with /q/, cf. /-qt-/ = = /-tt-/. Whereas, Port Harrison, as far as we can grasp, retains a position closer to the Center. Since those consonant-clusters are to evolve, as a cross-section of the dialects towards the West seems to demonstrate, a standard alphabet observing the phenomenon of assimilation would not keep the other dialects backwards, but precede in a way an inevitable stage and bring at the same time the Canadian Eskimo closer to a Greenlandic stage. Let us quote a passage from W. Thalbitzer, written in 1928, and which we have tested in the course of our enquiry: "Phonetically, Eskimo is closer akin to the American Northwest Coast languages, Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, etc. But generally, it avoids any accumulation of consonants, in contradistinction to all of the Northwest Coast languages. There are, however, many exceptions to this rule in some of the Southern Alaska dialects (i.e. other dialects other than those north of the Yukon River), [1] and in West Eskimo as far east as Hudson Bay we find a few constantly recurring consonant groups (especially nm, nn, tq, kp, ks, qs, bl, lr, gj, rng), but otherwise the rule obtains with increasing prevalence in the eastern dialects around the Davis Straits, in Labrador and in Greenland. In these dialects, there is a common and therefore old tendency towards an assimilation of such accumulations, viz. groups of two different consonants, into a single long one". (Eskimo as a Linguistic Type). Here is one reason to propose as a standard an already assimilating dialect.

(3) Why a Latin Orthography, and not a Syllabic System?

It is desirable that such a diversity of written mediums as exists at the present time in the field of Canadian Eskimo, from West to Greenland, be reduced to one along the lines of the Kleinschmidt's system, i.e. a modified version of the Greenlandic Latin orthography. It is interesting to note that both Labrador and Greenlandic Inuit share very similar systems, which are Latin (script) alphabets independent from European languages. The rest of the East and the Center are familiar of both Latin and syllabic (script) systems, which are far from being consistent and coherent. However, the general conclusion is that both Latin and syllabic systems, as they exist at the present time, are rather satisfactory in their respective dialectal areas. Nevertheless, neither

1. The remarks between brackets are ours.

one nor the other, as such, can be utilized as a Canadian Eskimo standard close to Greenland. The Latin systems, apart from their lack of coherence, ignore the phonemic principle, which is absolutely necessary in order to reconcile dialectal varieties, and because they are too phonetic, i.e. based primarily on local pronunciation rather than on a broad pattern of basic sounds.

On the other hand, the syllabics, which were first designed for American Indian languages, are not inherently Eskimo; therefore, no special virtue of their own would predestine them to symbolize the structure of the Eskimo language. One cannot advocate their use through the cultural argument. The Latin system is as Eskimo as the syllabics; moreover, nothing proves that the syllabics are simpler and easier to learn than the Latin script independent from the English and the French traditional incoherence. One must acknowledge that the syllabics, in the absence of a unified Latin system of spelling, have performed a magnificent cultural task: in many cases, it has saved the Eskimos from illiteracy. Apart from inaccuracies in the representation of the Eskimo basic sounds (cf. /k-/ is not distinguished from /q-/ in the ordinary system), the syllabics are not an adequate means of symbolizing the Eskimo syllable. A sound for sound division as made possible in an alphabet is much more exact than a syllable for syllable division (of the Eskimo word) symbolized by the syllabary; the syllabic structure of the Eskimo word renders it necessary for the syllabic symbol to be supplemented by an additional sign. Nothing prevents the syllabics from being used for a certain period of time, along with the latin system.

Finally, the fact that the Kleinschmidt's system is based on the Latin alphabetical tradition limits our choice to a Latin script, in order to be compatible with the Greenlandic tradition.

CHAPTER II

DIALECTS VERSUS STANDARDIZATION

The need of a Native, Supra-Dialectal Written means of Communication

Ethnology teaches us that a civilization cannot be imposed to an utterly different cultural complex without seriously impairing, and often destroying, the coherence and balance of the so-called "primitive" society. Whereas, if education is supplied through a native channel, the new cultural values will be integrated in the basic culture which receives them. Otherwise, a brutal contact may cause much to the natives. No actual education can be spread among the Eskimos without an adequate and unified means of communicating the written thought to as many people as possible. Everyone agrees that there are at present too many spelling systems for the Canadian Eskimo language. We have proposed an orthography on the basis of the East, and as close as possible to what we know of the Greenlandic phonemic structure and to the Kleinschmidt system. We seriously feel that, if Labrador has long ago adopted an orthography similar to that of Greenland, and if, on the other hand, many explorers and observers -- apart from the linguists' conclusions -- can state an evident affinity of our Eskimo dialects in Canada with the Greenlandic stock, there is a difinite possibility to bring down the Canadian Eskimo dialects to a unified writing tool, in conformity with a reformed Greenlandic alphabet. In order to achieve an Eskimo cultural unity through writing and literature in Canada, the co-operation of all the missionaries, educators, nurses, and traders, as well as the administrators' efforts, are strongly needed. Of course, nobody, under the present dialectal complexity and in front of so many spelling traditions would claim to standardize, in a few years' period, the spoken language of a vast family of languages. Not even the most learned and trained linguist. It is, nevertheless, possible to envision a common written language which would, in a near future, encompass the extensive Canadian Eskimo domain from the Eastern border of Alaska to the Eastern shores of Greenland. Again, this achievement is not to be the work of only one linguist, educator or sociologist. But it would be feasible with the assistance of all those interested in the spiritual, cultural and material welfare of the Eskimo people.

The Historical Sources of Language Standardization

In the present case, the demographic situation facilitates the standardization of the written language of 40, 000 people on the basis of one dialect. In spite of the vast geographical factor, it is much easier to unify the spelling systems and even the spoken language of the Eskimo

group than those of the extremely complex and different populations of India and China. However, it is a well-known fact that the present Chinese Government has tackled the problem of standardization in the field of spelling. History shows us that any literary standard language has always evolved from one dialect which has become predominant, either politically or economically, at times culturally, and which has finally imposed its domination over the other dialects parallel to it in the national territory. Intrinsically, the "langue d'oil", in France, was not superior to the "langue d'oc." The latter had, in fact, a quite brilliant and influential period, in the Middle Ages. The North-Central region imposed its domination over the rest of the French territory which will become, under the Valois and Bourbon dynasties, "le royaume de France", and, after 1789, "le territoire national". 250 years after the Edit de Villers-Cotterets (1539) had ordered the standardization of Northern French "(langue d'oil)" all over the Kingdom, and investigation conducted by Gregoire, on behalf of the Government, showed that there still were many "patois" in use; Marseille was hardly emerging, in 1793, from a dialectal stage. Today, in spite of local dialects, which will probably always exist, the Northern French variety of Gallo-Romance is understood all over the national territory (except by a few old "patoisants"), either in Brittany, Pays Basque, or Alsace). Every educated person, in France, speaks French with or without an accent, but it is today an unquestionably national medium of expression and communication, along with a few literary dialects. Schooling and printed literature, as well as broad contacts, are the main ways of spreading a standard language. Our present task is not to standardize the Canadian Eskimo grammars and dictionaries; this will come later and will be the job of skilled and patient eskimologists. We have to unify the means of writing through an alphabet which will be put to trial in every Canadian Eskimo dialectal area. Fortunately enough, the situation, in the Eskimo-speaking world, is not the same nowadays as was that of France in 1793. An Administration can be a lot more efficient today than in older times. Official communications and means of transportation are a lot more accessible today than in the past centuries. But the lesson of history is the following one: a scattered language is not to be standardized without efforts in a couple of years. On the other hand, this standardization, on the written and, to a certain extent, on the spoken levels, will have to be carried out if an all-Eskimo, or at least an all-Canadian Eskimo literature has ever to be developed. We are sure that the most powerful factor of linguistic, literary and cultural unification in Eskimo will be education. And the co-operation of educators in every region will overcome the dialectal difficulties. It would be a good thing to ponder on our model next door in Greenland.

CHAPTER III

THE UNIFIED STANDARD CANADIAN ESKIMO ORTHOGRAPHY

The Standard Alphabet

(1) **Letters:**

21, - 17 simple letters and 4 compound letters. Our Principle is: one basic sound-one symbol. However, on account of the limitations of the Latin alphabet and the traditions of the same, we have not coined new symbols and we have been obliged to make compound, rather heavy, letters which symbolize strictly Eskimo phonemes: /ll/, /ng/, /rng/, /ts/. Each letter represents a phoneme of the Port Harrison dialect, except /e/, /o/.

/a/, /e/, /g/, /i/, /j/, /k/, /l/, /ll/, /m/, /n/, /ng/,

/rng/, /o/, /p/, /q/, /r/, /s/, /t/, /ts/, /u/, /v/.

DIPHTHONGS:

/ai/, /au/.

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(2) **Their Names:**

"ah", "ay", "gah", "ee", "yah", "kah", "lah", "dlah/hlah",

"mah", "nah", "ngah", "rngah", "o", "pah", "rkah", "gkah",

"sah"/"hah", "tah", "tsah", "oo", "vah".

(3) **Their Pronunciation in the International Phonetic Alphabet**

[ɑ] [ɪ] [ɣa] [i] [ja] [ka] [la] [ɢa/ɬa]
[ma] [na] [ŋa] [Na] [ɔ] [pa] [qa] [Ra]
[sa/ha] [ta] [tsa] [u] [Ba/va]

[ai] [au]

(4) Vowel and Consonant Lengthening:

A long consonant and a long vowel are shown by the doubling of the letter. Double /ng/ is written /nng/, -/ll/, /rng/ are not doubled; the same for /ts/.

/taaqtuq/ "it is dark"

/tikippoq/ "he arrives"

N.B. We use no accents, as in Greenland, to denote the lengthening of a phoneme.

(5) Capital Letters:

For proper names and after a period (.).

(6) Punctuation:

Generally speaking, the marks are the same as in English; but the punctuation follows the Eskimo syntax.

(7) Silent Letters:

Strictly speaking, there are no silent letters in Eskimo. Every written letter is pronounced. Certain sounds, which are semi-silent, in the sense that they are faintly heard at the end of words (namely /-t/, /-k/), are to be written.

(8) Hyphenation:

The hyphen can separate the members of a doubled consonant or vowel, but it cannot divide a diphthong nor a compound letter such as /ts/, /(n)ng/, /rng/, /ll/, /ai/. /au/ .....Cf. tikippoq "he arrives" ..... but ... sullapunga "I leave".

(9) The Vowels /e/ and /o/:

In conformity with the phonemic structure of Eskimo, there are only 3 basic vowels in the Northern branch of the Eskimo family of languages. As Theodore Bourquin, in his Grammatik der Eskimo Sprache, French translation by Balmes, in 1934, had stated, /e/ is a non-significant

variation of /i/ before the "guttural", which is called "uvular" by the linguists, or in final position, i.e. at the end of a word, when nothing follows. Similarly, /o/ is a variation or an "allophone" of /u/ in the same context as above. Bourquin writes that "the different spelling of those vowels (i.e. /i/, /e/, /o/, /u/) is used BECAUSE OF THE EUROPEANS, and it is precisely because of them that it should be done after fixed rules (i.e. the context already described). This statement is a proof that the actual structure of the Eskimo language does not possess /e/ and /o/ as essential vowels. The native speaker can easily do without their spelling since, given /i/ and /u/, he will make/have them vary according to the context, on account of his subconscious feeling of his own language. Therefore, /e/, /o/ will appear before /q/ and at the end of a word. They will also appear in front of a cluster beginning with /r/, and before /-r/.

(10) Consonant-Clusters:

In order to conform with the old Eskimo tendency to "assimilate" consonantal groups, it is advisable to avoid consonant-clusters (cf. definition above) as much as possible. However, there still are and probably will be for an unpredictable length of time, certain clusters such as: /qj/, cf. /umiaqjuaq/ "big boat", /tj/, cf. /atjiuguaq/ "picture"; /pv/, /kv/, /qv/, /kw/, /qw/, etc.* /bl/, /dl/, /gl/, have evolved towards /ll/ in our dialect and in those around. It is a very strong /l/ with a suggestion of consonant preceding it. In Greenland and in certain Central Canadian dialects, it is the "shlou" or "voiceless lateral fricative" which Holtved, the Danish eskimologist, had proposed to symbolize by /hl/ in a purely dialectal and phonetic alphabet. Knud Bergsland, in his phonemic transcription of South-Western Greenlandic (A Grammatical Outline of the Eskimo language of West Greenland, mimeographed copy, Oslo, 1935), symbolize this fricative by /ll/, the same way as we do.

(11) /ts/

This compound letter represents a quite frequent sound in our dialect, and which corresponds to the /qs/, /qts/ of other dialects. It is often found in free variation with /qs/, /ks/ in Port Harrison. For instance, "church is either /tuksiavik/ or /tutsiavik/. -ts/ is now evolving towards an independent phonemic status, according to its greater frequency, in comparison with /qs/, /ks/, /qts/.

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* Cf. In the West one finds the cluster /lr/.-

(12) /q/:

This letter represents the "guttural" or the "uvular" which has many "allophones" and many spellings, cf. "rkr" (when /qq/ in the middle of a word), "kr" (when single in the middle of a word, or at the beginning of a word), "rk" (at the end of a word), "r" (at the end of a word, in Western Hudson Bay). In one or the other context, this basic sound is always UVULAR; its variations can be predicted, they are not significant. They can all be replaced by /q/, the plosive variety without changing anything else than the "accent".

Remark: When /q-/ clusters with /-m/, /-n/, /-ng/, /-s/, /-t, it may be written /r-/, as in Greenlandic: /-rm-/, /-rn-/, /-rng/, /-rs-/, /-rt-/. It is, in fact, softened in an /r/-like consonant. Cf. /arnaq/ "woman"; /orsoq/ "oil", or /uqsoq/.

(13) /s/:

This letter represents a basic sound which is pronounced "sh" in one dialect "s", in another, and something between "sh" and "s" in a third and a fourth ones. It is useless to write it "sh" in a broad "phonemic" alphabet, since a native, seeing /s/ will colour this sound with more or less "sh-ness according to his own dialect. It is important to note that words are not distinguished on the basis of the difference between "sh" and "s", as in English "she" and "see". Some Central tribes pronouce /h/ instead of /s/. They will have to make the necessary adaptation.

(14) Note on Rare Sounds:

"W", "z", "b" are not full-blown phonetic units. They may appear as "allophones" in certain dialects, but they have a low frequency even as such.

Note:

An orthography is only a conventional matter; but it must be as simple as possible, and a choice must finally be made, often at the expense of other valuable alternatives. Therefore, in confirmity with the Greenlandic spelling, we have proposed the five vowel letters, stating the conditions under which /e/ and /o/ must be written. Otherwise, we strongly advise the Eskimo linguists to put the only essential Eskimo vowels ("phonemes") to the test before proceeding to the use of the five vowel letters /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/. Any suggestion will be welcome towards an agreement.

APPENDIX

A COMPARATIVE LIST OF CANADIAN AND GREENLANDIC ESKIMO WORDS

English	Canadian Standard Orthography	Greenlandic Orthography
1. Head	niaqoq	niaqoq
2. Hair (of the head)	nujaq	nujuq
3. Man (Eskimo)	inuk	inuk
4. Beard	umik	umik
5. (Eider) Duck	miteq	miteq
6. Wing	isaroq	isaroq
7. Teeth	kigutit	kigutit
8. Seal	natseq	natseq
9. Leg	nio	nio
10. Name	ateq	ateq
11. I hear	tusarpunga	tusarpunga
12. Mouth	qaneq	qaneq
13. Fingernail	kukik	kukik
14. Winter	ukioq	ukioq
15. Dirt	ipeq	ipeq
16. Water (drinking)	imeq	imeq
17. Sun	seqineq	seqineq
18. Sand	sioraq	sioraq
19. River	kuuk	kuk
20. Lake	taseq	taseq
21. Land	nuna	nuna
22. Boat	umiaq	umiaq
23. White Goose	kangoq	kangoq
24. Tail	pamioq	pamioq
25. Arctic Hare	ukaleq	ukaleq
26. Wind	anore	anore
27. Stone	ujarak	ujarak

STANDARD SPELLING	FATHER THIBERT	MANNING	REV. FLINT	FATHER SCHNEIDER	GREENLAND
(BAY) kangersuk	kangerdluk kangersuk (Okk.)	kangekjuk	kangerthluk	qangerkshuq Note: /q/ for our /k/, and vice-versa	kangerdluk
(YESTERDAY) ippasaq	ikpaksak	ikpaksak	ipuksak	iqpasak	igpagssaq Note: the spelling here does not show the assimilation
(SON) erneq	ernerk	irnik	ernek	ernek	erneq
(TODAY) ullumo	ublumi	ublumi/ udlumi	oodloo(me)	udlumi	uvdlume
(TREE) napaaqtoq Note: no accent, contrary to Greenland	napârtok	napaktok	napparktok	napartok	(MOUNTAIN ASH) napârtoq